565
554 The Imochar, on the other hand, are much more distinguished
[302] than the Imrad; their toilette is more elaborate and their bearing
[516] nobler, so that it is often easy to distinguish them from the Imrad
by their more majestic carriage. They also assume a more elegant
[495] language, from which are banished vulgar expressions and words
foreign to their language, brought in by slaves. This difference of
appearance and language is even more perceptible among the
554 women; they are sometimes astonishing by their grace and their
562 refined manners. They are real great ladies, who receive in their
574 leather tents with as much dignity as European women of good society.
Moreover, they make a certain show of receiving their guests well
[533] and charm them with the melodious sounds of their violins. The
qualities esteemed in a wellborn young Tuareg girl consist in know-
[565] ing how to keep her tent, making a few beautiful embroidered leather
articles to give to friends or to a knight waiting upon her, and know-
ing how to play the violin.

565
[83] Outside of their trips in the desert, the Imochar spend one part
513] of their life courting women and the other sleeping.

The mores are much looser for the Imochar than for the
[842] Imrad, bringing about late marriages and consequently unions which
582] are most often rather unprolific. The French occupation, on the
other hand, has taken away their real raison d'être as they see it,
[648] and a certain neurasthenia seems to have taken hold of them in the
last few years. It would be quite regrettable to see such an original
stock /Fr. race/ disappear, but faced with its inertia in adapting it-
self to new conditions, we cannot quite see what palliative we could
bring it.

565 The Inislimen. -- The Inislimen make up the religious class
[793] among the Tuareg, playing the role of chaplains and marabouts /162/
87] and entrusted with the formation and religious education of the
children.

Therefore, they occupy an important social position, quite
[651] superior to that of the Imrad. In some confederations they are exempt

631 It will be noted that there are no marabout tribes in the divers
793 Ahaggar tobol. The Ifôra who nomadize in the Témaçinine (Fort Flatters) region are completely independent. They maintain amicable relations with the Ihággaren and the Kel Ájjer, but these relations are very few and far between and have no political or religious character. They do not send any chaplains among the Ihággaren. Their chief has settled at the little zāwiyah of Témaçinine, near which his ancestors are buried, and where he enjoys great /213/
1078 repute. All the Tuareg, Ihággaren or Ájjer, who pass near this
788 place never fail to stop and pay a visit to the sheik and go pray on the tomb of Si Othman, a famous saint of this marabout lineage.

This zāwiyah is affiliated with the Tijaniyyah brotherhood.

There are several marabouts who live in the midst of the Ihággaren camps, but all of them are of Arab origin and none of them are Ifôras.

631 The Ifôras are under the administrative control of the Ájjer annex, and politically they are much more a part of the Kel Ájjer than of the Ihággaren.

They are subdivided into three fractions:

Ifôras-oui-n-Oukkîren
Ifôras-oui-n-Egdad
Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel

The first two, who are of sherif descent, were in the habit of espousing the cause of the Oûraren, while the third was attached to the Imenân sultans.

114 Duveyrier said that the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel were provided with
533 drums and continued to constitute the court and the music corps
631 of the fallen sultans; he concludes by saying that their role is limited to making noise. (1) Now the Ifôras-oui-n-Ettebel have never been

1. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 361.

musicians, but their name, which can be confusing, means "those who are attached to the aménokal," just as Iklân-en-Tâousit (of the Ahaggar) means "servant of the tribe or of the group of tribes

1: Lhote--72 E-5 (1929-1940) 1944 MS25 Tuareg MS25

114 forming the tobol" and, by extension, "servant of the tobol."
●533 At the present time these three fractions number about 150
631 people.
[162] We call attention to them here only as a reminder.

Book V

Material Life

Chapter 1

Living Conditions Among the Ahaggar Tuareg

133 The Ahaggar, as we have already said, is a mountain refuge. We do not know why the Tuareg have continued to live there when they could have found much better countries to the south where they could have had a much easier life. Perhaps we should attribute this to attachment to the country or, quite simply, to an ancient state of things which forced them to take refuge against their will in the middle of the rocks.

13 A superficial examination shows that the Ahaggar is a very poor
[511] country with negligible resources, which imposes a living standard
[312] lower than the average. The pasture reserves are calculated, as are the water reserves. The subsoil possesses nothing, or almost nothing, which is marketable, except a little salt. Consequently, the possibilities for life there are quite limited. For the inhabitants to live, then, they must have recourse to outside resources.

534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[23] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
[171] much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
533 charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
626 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
593 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

882 The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
571 access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.
521 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview." A
synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

meal, which is taken very late, and more rarely after the meal if it is to entertain a stranger. Everyone sits in a circle. Each person takes a place in the order of his arrival, in such a way as to alternate men and women. When everyone has arrived, they elect a male president and a female president, whose job is to see that the usages and customs of the ahal are respected and, as a joke, /289/ to inflict forfeits on those who bring on themselves the recriminations of the others. Sometimes only a female president is elected, but never a male president alone.

The presence of several girls in a camp is often sufficient cause for organizing an ahal mixed with asri. The young men come from neighboring camps, always dressed in their dressy clothes. Some of them sometimes come hundreds of kilometers to attend a meeting where they know they will find pretty girls and pleasant distraction. Then one of those present plays the violin. The sourish, plaintive, monotonous sounds which come out of it are quite in harmony with the wild setting made by nature and man. The men accentuate the rhythm by singing "ho ho" on the beat and finally by a hummed accompaniment. And every one jokes and tells broad stories, for the poetic part is often of a very doubtful quality, if not made up of more or less vulgar repartee.

Then the violin is silent, and laughter bursts out on all sides. Men and women make very free contacts and rub noses which is the peculiar form of the Tuareg kiss. These meetings end very late at night, and everyone returns to his camp, not, however, without having made an appointment by a special language of hand gestures to finish these amorous love feasts in a more intimate way.

The mores of the girls are indeed very licentious, so much so that Father de Foucault stated that the word "virginity" did not exit in Tamashek. (1) "There is no question of keeping the girl

1. Dr. Vermale, Au Sahara pendant la guerre européenne /In the Sahara During the European War/, p. 172.

583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and [584] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, [565] or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her [562] property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses [421] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times [184] a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women, [533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to [174] Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

585 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords,
342 tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who
[533] has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a
[171] year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the
[593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

587 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her
591 husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The
591 men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

[492] /293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

eyes are probably descended from the Vandals who invaded north Africa some 300 years earlier. Legend, though not springing from the Tuareg themselves, suggests they grew out of a lost band of Crusaders that wandered into the desert after the Holy wars of the middle ages: a legend that draws attention to the Tuareg's use of chain mail and long two-handed swords and to his stature and Aryan features. The language of the Tuareg is called Tamahaq; their speech soft and guttural. In its written form, Tifinar, the alphabet is possibly that of the ancient Libyans. The hieroglyphics are utterly unlike Arabic and the construction of the alphabet is consonantal, a feature which makes the task of translation difficult. For many years now Dr. Wakefield, an Englishwoman, has been living in Tamanrasset making a study of Tamahaq and translating the Bible. It is already 8 years ago that the National Bible Society of Scotland published the Book of Ruth for missionary work among the Tuareg based on Dr. Wakefield's studies.

ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵃⴰⵇ ⴰⵏ ⵜⴰⵏⵙⵓ ⵓ ⵜⴰⵎⵓⵔⵜ,
ⵜⴰⵏ ⵉⵓ ⵉⵜⵜⴰⵏ ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵃⴰⵇ, ⵉⵎⵓⵔ ⵓⵔⵉⵖ

The Bible in Tamahaq

(*Ruth. Ch. 2, Verse 17*)

"So she gleaned in the field until evening, and when she beat out what she had gleaned, it was about an ephah of barley."

Again, the influence of such work is too limited at present to be a cogent factor. From the standpoint of religion the Tuareg reveal a strange mixture of paganism and lip-service to Islam. Literally, the word Tuareg—or, in its purer form Twarek—means "abandoned", i.e., the abandoned of God. To some extent the limits of the Tuareg domain are fixed by his superstitions; which have peopled areas like the Plateau du Tademait, north of In Salah and the mountains of Emmid-Din to the east of the Ahaggar with ghosts and djinns. The Tuareg are, above everything, religious opportunists; in that, like all superstitious people, they believe what suits them best. Unlike most other social groups they do not seem to have synthetised their beliefs or emotions into a set of religious observance that is a collective interest of the community. Marriage and divorce exist but, sexually, the tribe is a-moral and a feature of the social structure of the group is the "ahal", a love-feast at which the men serenade their chosen lovers, praising their beauty in terms of the moon, a flower or with images equally poetic and universal.

Tuareg society is matriarchal: another distinctive feature that sets them apart from the Arab world. Although authority appears to be invested in the male, in so far as tribal groups are administered by the Amenokal, or king, it is through the women that heredity is determined. The child of a Targui begotten by a woman outside the tribe will not be Tuareg; but a Targuia (Tuareg woman) who has a child by a slave, for instance, claims for the offspring direct Tuareg descent, though not necessarily in the same social circle. There are, in fact, several social strata within Tuareg society that have arisen through the centuries as a result of raiding for slaves; and also from the involved relationship between slaves and slaves, and masters and slaves since the children of some are free, while others are not; and the children of the second generation of some are free. These last are called "Hartanis", meaning literally, "free in the second generation (from "Harr"—free, "Thani"—second). The nobility of the tribe are known as "Kel" and the men can be distinguished by the dark blue veil. The serfs, although Tuareg by birth, wear a white veil, while the Hartanis, who are mostly of negroid descent, go unveiled.

Thus it is that a great many influences have combined to build up the tribe and, consequently, it is not surprising to find in their music certain similar incongruities.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

533 [177] For example, a rough division can be made straight away between the songs that seem to suggest a negro origin and those whose flavour is indisputably, let us say Moorish, rather than Arabic. First of all it would be as well to deal with the few instruments used by the Tuareg in relation to the type of song they accompany; for, here again, the same division occurs.

534 The nearest that the Tuareg possess to an instrument capable of producing a melodic line is the "amzhad" (or "imzad". The plural of the word, "imzaden" meaning "hair"). This is a single stringed instrument of the lute variety comprising a sound box usually made from a gourd and covered with stretched membrane, a rough neck of stick being fixed across the diameter and projecting about 12 inches. The string is passed over a rudimentary bridge made of two short pieces of stick lashed together so as to form a shallow "V" and tied to the end of the curved neck. The pitch of the string is determined first of all by a sliding loop further down the neck and controlled during performance by the musician's left hand. A bow is used and it is from this that the instrument derives its name, since the bowstring is made from the hair of the women. The instrument is pitched on the open string usually at an approximate middle "C", though this can vary since an "E" above middle "C" frequently becomes the tonic note. Its range is roughly an octave and a third, accompaniments often being played in the top part of the register. Intervals approximating to perfect intervals predominate during performance.

Two kinds of percussion are used by the Tuareg, not counting group handclapping that features with many of the songs: a tom-tom with a wooden shell and single head, and a more hybrid contraption involving a gourd and a bowl of water. The tom-tom, which is played with the flat of the hand, has a head of stretched gazelle skin fastened by a cord made of goat hair and can be tuned by damping with water. Dry, the tom-tom produces a "treble" note, and wet, a bass one. The shape of the shell resembles an eggcup, and although tom-toms vary in size they are roughly a foot in diameter and eighteen [434] inches high. The wood comes from the French Sudan, but the tom-tom is to be found wherever the Tuareg go. The gourd and bowl of water suggest that it is a recent innovation, since bowls are not readily obtainable in the Sahara except through foreign manufacture and trade, i.e., foreign to the Tuareg. Indeed, the bowl largely favoured is an ordinary enamelled affair about six inches deep and perhaps eighteen inches across such as is found in the kitchen of any European home. Filled with water and this surface struck rhythmically with an inverted half gourd it produces a deep, damped note comparable to a well-tuned bass drum.

Wind instruments are unknown among the Tuareg and the "amzhad" and the two percussion instruments mentioned above are the only musical devices used. Certain distinctions govern the use of these three instruments that have their roots in tradition. 462 All of them are played by the women who, particularly with the "amzhad" display con- 533 siderable virtuosity: for a Targui to play an instrument would be *infra dig.* Consequently, much of the propagation of folk-culture is in the hands of the women, though the men- [177] folk do not consider the heroic beneath their dignity. However, the war songs, recounting the deeds of great warriors, are practically extinct since the Tuareg have passed from being a fighting race, levying protective tolls upon the caravans, to become a quiet, almost passive people, anxious for survival in the face of encroaching modern civilisation that has already dissipated the often considerable wealth amassed before the French gained control in the Sahara.

533 [177] The music of the Tuareg falls into the two types mentioned earlier: songs that seem to owe their origin to negro influences, and those that have certain Moorish characteristics. It is curious to note that none of the songs of the women feature the use of mordents or shakes, whereas those of the men invariably do so. Secondly, percussion other than handclapping is never used to accompany the men, while the "amzhad" is never used to accompany the songs of the women. When the "amzhad" is used, perhaps because

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
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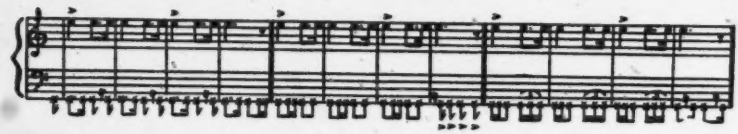
of its delicate tone and lack of volume, handclapping is always absent, though a particular song with differences in tempo and rhythmic attack is often sung either with "amzhad" accompaniment or handclapping. In the latter case the melodic embellishments tend to disappear and the tune emerges in its basic form:

Targui Love Song

Most of the songs of the men are love songs, such as are sung during the "ahals" and it is logical to deduce that the "amzhad", which is used exclusively for love songs, is the female voice, the necessary complement to a declaration of love and, indeed, the phrasing of the "amzhad" is more that of obbligato than of counter-melody.

It is the chant-like quality of the women's singing that suggests the negro influence; the tom-tom rhythms used in accompaniment are invariably simple and without the intricate cross-rhythms found south of the Sahara. For instance, this song, which describes the lope of the camel, has a rhythm set against it that shifts to imitate the changes in gait of the camel as it quickens its pace to the equivalent of a gallop:

Voices in Unison



Rhythm

This example is from Agadez in French West Africa. A mere hundred miles further south at Tanout the same song introduces a second melody note, observing the same intentions in its rhythmic shifts, but in total effect is very much simpler:

Voices in Unison

Rhythm

Although the cycle of this simple theme is short, variances in the stresses and inflections suggest that several cycles are woven into a larger metric pattern of which the key to them would be a knowledge of the language. In this next example, a semi-humurous song about "a father and mother camel", the length of the cycle is varied by the omission of the fourth bar or the introduction of another, similar to the preceding one, before the tune resolves itself onto the tonic. These variations do not occur at regular intervals in the cycles, but seem to be anticipated instinctively by the performers.

3: Holiday J-5 (ca. 1955) 1956 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

533 The melody of this attractive little song is more advanced than the two preceding examples, but the accompanying rhythm is now restricted to a straight beat that never varies:

Voices in Unison

Rhythm

535 Dancing among the Tuareg seems to be restricted to the men; a kind of war dance, nowadays no more than a remembrance of things past, in which they stamp and whoop and brandish their weapons in time to the chanting of the women. It is possible, though not likely, that Tuareg women do dance at the "ahals"; but in the absence of actual corroboration the supposition may be discounted: the role of women would appear to be predominantly passive, the initiative being the prerogative of the men. It must be remembered that the Tuareg has not the settled village existence of the African tribe and as a result his life is marked less by organised ceremony, less by religious observance, however primitive. Aloof and alone the Targui remains the "last of the desert". Within two days' journey of his territory his name becomes legendary: little is known of his customs and his music is unheard. He is the Abandoned of God.

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4: Benhazera--1 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Book One

The Tuareg in their Private and Public Life

Part One

The Tuareg in their Private Life

Chapter I

Birth. Childhood

In Tamashek, birth is called "tioui:" ⵜⵉⵡⵉ. There is no [844]
special observance to note concerning the birth of a child
among the Tuareg. However, there is greater joy if it is a [842]
boy. People come to congratulate the parents and, seven days [851]
later, the latter serve a more or less lavish feast, depending
on their means, the feast being preceded by the recitation of
the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran). Those present who do [788]
not know Arabic limit themselves during this recitation to
holding their open hands together like a book. It is on this [533]
day that the child is given its name.

On this subject, I think I should note that especially [551]
among the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe of the Ahaggar), many [565]
children were given the names of wild beasts or animals.

Examples of Men's Names

Amellal, addax, meha /?/
Abeggui, jackal
Amayas, cheetah
Akhou, wild animal

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⵎⵓⵏⵉ (literally,
"cutting of prayer," since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ⵉⴽⵔⵃⵉ, which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad ⵎⴰⵣⵣⴰⴷ, an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia," or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ⵜⵣⵉⵡ, as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjeïhé" ⵜⵜⴰⵊⵉⵃⵉ, made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

Chapter IV

Musical Gatherings

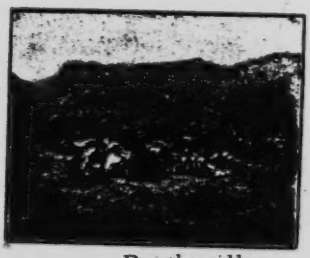
A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings," and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ⵜⴰⵀⴰⵍ, plural "ihallen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵍⴰⵏ.

/7/

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for [533] [584]
a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. [832]
Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the
girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when [361]
the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are
giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other,
and the ahal begins right after sunset.

The men of the camps gather with those who have come
especially because some woman attracts them. The women
bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who [602]
are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives
to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older
brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows,
all attend the ahal.

[361]



Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ⵄⵣⵔⵉ , is required, and jealousy [577]
strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown [626]
among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of show-
ing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of
him.

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom
he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully
lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'

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[576]

laïkoum" (May the greeting be on you!). Silently he holds his hand out to the woman in the Tuareg manner (that is to say, holding his hand /8/ out open flat and sliding it over the open hand of the woman), and he sits down, saying: "iselane" (What news?). If the woman answers: "elouane" (There is a lot), he begins to pay his court. The Tuareg are not very religious, and it sometimes happens that the woman asks such questions as: "Whom do you love more, God or me?"

The songs begin, and the imz'aden play the accompaniment. The men sing in snatches lines that they have composed on the charms of the ladies of their dreams, the feats that they have done, the raids in which they have taken part, or else satires on their enemies. The women extol courage. In general, a noble woman does not sing, but only plays the amz'ad.

There are three musical rhythms:

The "seyenine" /|ξ ⊙ rhythm, lively and quite fast, used among the Kel R'ela and the Taïtoq.

The "ahinena". /|ξ ⁝ rhythm, slow and drawn out like a chant, used especially among the Kel R'ela.

The "asaher": ⁝ ⊙ rhythm, used among the Tuareg of the Azdjer /Azjer/ confederation.

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Then there are simple games. The women elect a "sultana," or queen; the men a "sultan," or king, who will inflict the punishments incurred and will set the fines to be paid. It is a context of wits. A man must be able to answer the questions asked. If, for example, to this question: "Whom do you like better, this one or that one?," he answers: "I prefer this one," he would be booed, would incur a punishment or pay a fine, and the woman who is preferred would be ridiculed by her companions, for one must not show preference openly but must answer, "I like them both."

Another kind of question: "What would you do if you found yourself in the following situation: /9/

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"Tamott tekness
"Ehere iouof
"Talhett ter'tess
"Tir'irt touoss"

which means:

The woman who argues.
Flocks that scatter.
The she-ass that breaks her tether.
The pot that tips over.

In a joking way, to be a real wit, the man could answer: "If I should find myself in this situation, I would first gather the flock, I would re-tether the ass, I would put the pot back on the fire, and only then would I pay attention to the woman, " and there would be a chorus of indignant protests.

The woman makes it a point of honor to have as many admirers as possible. This is a proof that she is pretty and will not have trouble in getting married. 584 832

The ahal, begun after sunset, lasts quite late into the night, and the pale light that is shed by the stars allows shamelessness to have free rein. Although the married women joke and take part in the games, they behave themselves comparatively well. The others, however, may sit on the knees of their admirers. They kiss, but in a special way. Since the man must never uncover his mouth, he lowers his veil under his nose, and he piously smells the nose! of his loved one, who herself may kiss him. Even intimate handling (proh pudor! /oh, shame/) is allowed, which is never seen among the Arabs. 533 584 832.

During these gatherings, when the amz'ad is played, it is listened to with great pleasure. This instrument has a way of exciting /10/ the Tuareg, who utter "Ouh! ouh!" as a sign of pleasure. They have even made a verb of it: isouhouh. [201]

But now is the time when the camels come from the pasture. They must be milked: that is the az'ouz'edj 'ǐ' ## (from ez'edj 'ǐ' # , to milk). The women get up, and those present are given milk to drink. They will have to disperse. [272]

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afternoon. The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back games, "iloudjan foull imnas" ⵉⵍⵓⴷⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin. The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad to excite the riders. The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop. 585 [541] [533]

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident. [752]

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⵉⴱⴹⴹⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the friends, and the marriage is contracted. It is at this time that the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. For nobles it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price: one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to call divine blessing on the newlyweds. 583 585 [554] [782]

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared. 585

The women get up and make a sort of mattress of sand or earth, which is called "adebel" ⵍⵍ ⵜⵎⵜ and which is covered with a haïk. Over it will be set the skin tent on two wooden arches, "idjedjan" ⵉⵊⵊⵉⵏ , and the usual pegs. 585

But at this point the men intervene and seize the tent cover. Two on one side and two on the other, they throw it back and forth three times, calling "Saoula iaoulit (throw and send back)." This brings good fortune. [777]

Then the tent is finally set up. The men lead the groom to the tent. He is made to go around it three times; then he enters, taking care to put his right foot in first, again because this brings good fortune. [777]

The groom is in the tent with his friends. The women then accompany the bride while singing: 585 533 539

"Bismillaten ar essa .ⵙⵎⵎⵉⵍⵍⴰⵜⵏ ⴰⵔ ⵙⵙⴰ
"Se iz'ar isem n yalla .ⵙⵉⵣⵄⴰⵔ ⵉⵙⵎ ⵏ ⵢⴰⵍⵍⴰ
"Foull ilik ner' as tedoua".ⴼⵓⵍⵍ ⵉⵍⵉⴽ ⵏⵔⵄ ⴰⵙ ⵜⵜⴰⵜⵓⴰ

which means:

"In the name of God on them up to seven times,
"Preceding the name of God,
"On our daughter who left in the evening (for her husband's home)." /17/

A few meters from the tent the son of the bride's maternal aunt comes forward and wants to hold the bride back, telling her: "I will not let you leave before receiving my gift, my sandals. Aouid ir'atimen (give me my sandals)." The groom or his friends then pass him a pair of sandals which were set aside for this purpose or, lacking these, another gift. 585 431

Then the women in chorus ask questions to which the men reply in chorus: 585 533 539

Women's chorus:
Nellouz ⵏⵍⵍⵓⵣ We are hungry.
Men's chorus:
Atekchimet ⵜⵜⴰⴽⵛⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will eat.
Women's chorus:
Ner'loul ⵏⵔⵄⵍⵓⵍ We are naked.

Men's chorus:

Atelsimet ⵜⵍⵙⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be clothed.

Women's chorus:

Nerdjih ⵏⵔⴷⵊⵉⵀ We are afoot.

Men's chorus

Atar'ermet ⵜⴰⵔⵄⵔⵎⵉⵜ You will be mounted.

Then the bride and the women, addressing the groom, sing these two lines:

Outterir' inelli n isakan ⵓⵜⵜⴻⵔⵉⵔ ⵉⵏⴻⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⵉⵙⴰⴽⴰⵏ

Essoufeq inelli n foudan ⵙⵙⵓⴼⵖ ⵉⵏⴻⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⴼⵓⴷⴰⵏ

"I do not want any bechna (carried by) young camels.

"I prefer bechna (carried by) strong and solid camels," meaning by this that she expects of her husband the deeds of a strong, brave man and not the behavior of a child. /18/

Then the bride enters the tent, and the guests withdraw and go to feast.

For seven days the groom's food is provided by the bride's relatives. During this time the newlyweds do not leave their tent, but people go there to entertain and visit them.

Custom decrees that the newly weds live beside the wife's parents for a year in order to give her time to get used to separation from them, which they call "az'alaɣ" ⴰⵣⵄⵍⴰⵖ (from the verb "ez'li" ⴻⵣⵄⵍⵉ, to separate).

Monogamy is the absolute rule.

We have said that the ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages. Another reason lies in the fact that many Tuareg are satisfied with Negro concubines.

Chapter VIII

Divorce

Divorce, in Tamashek "tellef" ⵜⴻⵍⵍⴻⴼ or "oulouf" ⵓⵍⵓⴼ (from the verb "ellef" ⵍⴻⵍⵍⴻⴼ, to divorce).

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air

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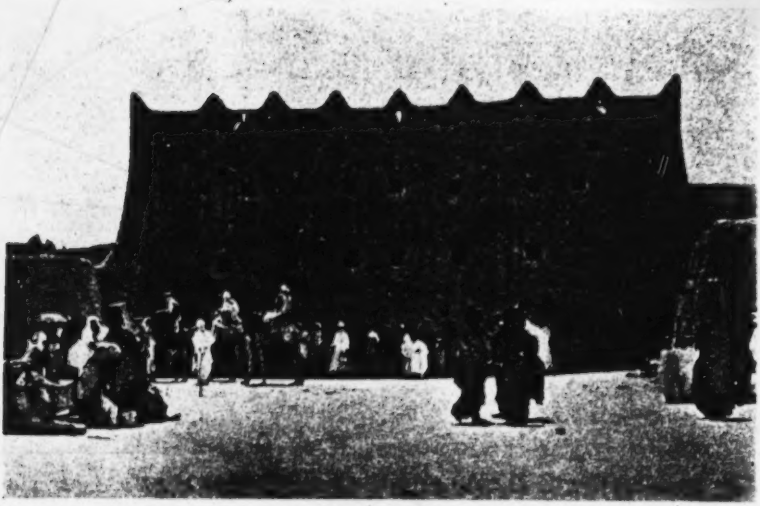

[533] Fig. 4.–The palace of the Sultan of Air at Agadez. – The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour. The drummers beating two drums each and musicians blowing [534] various wind-instruments accompany the Sultan when he leaves his palace. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the Kel Ferouan drum-chief (fig. 6). They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

175 of noble Tuareg from whom the supreme chief of the group was elected. The chief
565 had as his sole insignia a drum named *ettebel*, or *arazou*. The name of the drum
631 *ettebel* was and is still used as the name and title of the chief who is adressed by this very word, and *ettebel* is also used as a name of the group under his command. I therefore use the word "drum-group" for such groups of Tuareg as the Kel Tamat, the Kel Fadei, and the Kel Ferouan, and the word "drum-chief" for their chiefs. There were also in the past smaller drum-groups as for instance the Echchikhen of Damergou to whom I shall refer below.

175 The Sultan was elected by the leaders of the Tuareg groups mentioned but
643 they did not all take part in his official instalment. The instalment ceremony is described by Barth as follows:– From his private room in the palace (fig. 4) the Sultan was led to the public hall. Here the chiefs of the Itesen and the Kel Geres asked him to sit down upon a bed made from ribs of palm leaves covered with mats, but he was not allowed to lift his feet and sit in Oriental fashion until permis-
[114] sion was given by the Kel Ooui (Barth 1857, I, p. 461f.). Jean who gives a more detailed account says that the Kel Geres did not participate, and had no voice of election (Jean 1909, p. 159ff.). It is noteworthy that the chiefs of such important drum-groups as the Kel Fadei and the Kel Ferouan did not participate in the ceremony, which dates from the time when the Itesen, the Kel Geres, and the

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

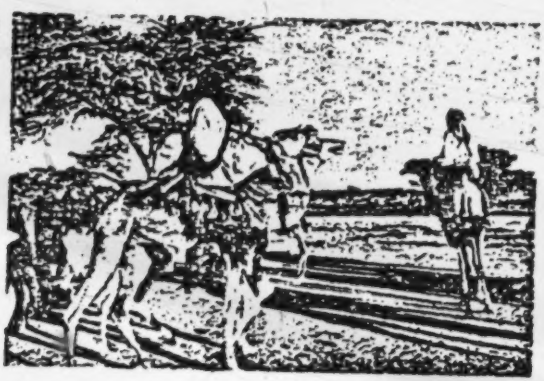

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *afegeg* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iwwilen*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boys' games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among vassals are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ihuton* (*ilugan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasis is not so much on such

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82).

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Urûren* (*Kel Ajjer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

from the members of this village. The particular connection between the *Anestafidet* and the sedentary peoples of the Sudan is very natural in view of the fact that the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg nowadays, as in the past, engage much in caravan trading with the south. The name of *Anestafidet* is derived from the tribe *Kel Tafidet* – one of the noble *Kel Ewey* tribes which immigrated to Ayr about the 14th century A.D. The *Anestafidet* has always been a very important chief, and the *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, though very mixed with the ancient sedentary population of Ayr Negroes, were for periods in the past very important politically. To-day the *Anestafidet* is the most important chief of Ayr after the Sultan, and it is said that, like a deceased Sultan, a deceased *Anestafidet* should be buried in his house. The *Anestafidet* is treated with respect by all Ayr Tuareg, who take off their sandals when greeting him, and at the beginning of the holy Friday (that is on Thursday night) the professional musicians of Agadez, when they have made music at the Sultan's palace, go to *Anestafidet*'s residence and then to the ministers of the Sultan.

The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, who live predominantly in and around the villages of the eastern and most mountainous part of the Ayr Massif, form the majority of the people placed directly under the command of the *Anestafidet*. According to figures given by Nicolas for tribes and villages of the *Kel Ewey* their total number seems now to be about 8000 (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 465 ff.). But placed under the *Anestafidet* are also the pastoral Tuareg group known as *Kel Tamat*. Formerly it had its own drum-chief (*ettebel*) who was also the supreme chief of the *Ikezkezen* Tuareg. The group of *Kel Tamat*, with the *Ikezkezen*, judged by the figures for some of the tribes (cf. Nicolas 1950b, p. 471 f.), comprise nowadays about 4000 individuals most of whom originally lived west of the true *Kel Ewey*.

The *Kel Tamat* do not form a drum-group nowadays. In the past their drum-chief was elected by tribes within the drum-group, but he had to be installed ceremoniously by the *Anestafidet* who presented him with a large headcloth. All people of the *Anestafidet* have to recognize him as their supreme judicial authority. But the *Anestafidet*, who is elected by people of the ancient noble *Kel Ewey* tribes, is submitted to the authority of the Sultan who also installs the *Anestafidet* ceremoniously.

Most Ayr Tuareg who are not placed under the *Anestafidet* are collectively referred to as the *Kel Amenukal*, that is "the people of the *Amenukal* (or Sultan)". Most of these people are pastoralists though some sedentary or semi-sedentary people are also placed in the Sultan's group. The important Tuareg groups placed directly under the Sultan are the following:—

The *Itesen* with the *Immikitan* most of whom left the Massif long before the arrival of the French. In the past both groups formed politically very important drum-groups, and though they were very few in number throughout the 19th century they were nevertheless politically important, as without them a Sultan could not be elected and installed.

The *Kel Faday* in the region of Ingal consist of a noble tribe and eleven tribes of vassals. The *Kel Faday* constituted throughout the 19th century a politically important drum-group though it was very small. Their total number according to Nicolas is now 2341 (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474).

The *Kel Ferwan* comprise tribes in the western parts of the Massif including the regions of Agadez, and also south of the Massif in Dumergu. They number about 5000.

The *Kel Geres* Tuareg live in the Southlands around Madawa most of the year but visit Southern Ayr west of Agadez in the rainy season (cf. p. 7, 431 f.). Properly speaking they are not now recognized

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 287. Musicians of the Sultan of Ayr marching through Agadez. In the front a man blowing a clarinet-like instrument, in the background the drummers mounted on camels and beating two drums each. The drums of the Sultan are different from that of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-chief. They are larger and deeper, have their skin fastened in a different manner, and are beaten with sticks.

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true of the noble *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg. They are nowadays without much power and prestige, whereas the Sultan, owing to the French, has augmented his power greatly. Many *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg speak disparagingly about the Sultan, and the drum-chief of the *Kel Ferwan* named *Agg-Elkhir* called him openly a slave and did not take off his sandals in the Sultan's presence.

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There can be little doubt that the man who was elected the Sultan of all Ayr people at the beginning of the 15th century very quickly became a Sultan not of Ayr, but of Agadez. A state organization like that of the Ayr Sultanry could not function in a Tuareg society characterized by warlike pastoral groups, and the Sultan would have to be dismissed or else recognize the authority of the strongest pastoral group which, as we have seen, throughout the 19th century was the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

THE KEL FERWAN DRUM-GROUP

Lists of tribes which belong to the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group have already been published. Jean has fourteen in his list (Jean 1909, p. 104), Rodd and Abadie have fifteen (Rodd 1926a, p. 427 f.; Abadie 1927, p. 391 f.), while Nicolas puts twenty-two tribes in the group (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f., 480). My own list comes close to that of Nicolas, but contains a few additional names. I have divided my list in two parts, as there were within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group two important noble tribes each with a group of particular vassals. The traditional grazing grounds of the important tribes in the past are also indicated. I have not been able to get precise particulars about the size of tribes, and therefore quote the figures given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474 f.). The tribes differ greatly in size, ranging from 653 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a tribe is about 250.

The traditional political structure of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group has almost completely disappeared, and it seems as if the ancient rules were in decay shortly after the French occupation of Ayr when the Sultan became strongly supported by the administration. Since the rebellion against the French in 1917, political life has become completely altered and the traditional political structure has had to be reconstructed. I have tried to make a reconstruction of this nature by my investigations in Ayr, where I had a number of old men as informants on this particular subject. My investigations were most difficult because many Tuareg would often ascribe their tribe, their class, and their drum- group a far higher political importance than it seemed to have had. However, I found a few old vassals who seemed to be able to tell about the past without much prejudice, and I believe that I obtained a fairly correct description of ancient political life within the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group.

The two noble tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group, namely the proper *Kel Ferwan*, or *Irawatten*, and the *Kel Azel*, have certain traditions about their origin in addition to those mentioned above (p. 413 f.). The noble *Kel Ferwan* (the *Irawatten*) sometimes say that the ancestress of the *Kel Azel* married an Arab who was killed at her own request, but there is another and more general tradition

Fig. 288. The palace of the Sultan of Ayr at Agadez. The Sultan has just returned from a short journey out of town and musicians including three drummers mounted on camels (left) are playing in his honour.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

The custom of giving sandal gifts to a cross-cousin of the bride is unknown among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg, who also claim that cross-cousin marriage and particularly that with a true mother's brother's daughter is the best type of marriage. But though they consider such marriages ideal they admit that some cross-cousin marriages will not last long. For closely related cross-cousins have frequently grown up together, and it is said that such cousins when they have married sometimes agree to dissolve their marriage on the ground that they feel like brother and sister so that there is no mutual attraction or love between them. This is only one of many reasons for divorce which is extremely common in all tribes of Ahaggar and Ayr. Briggs' statement from the Ahaggar Tuareg that divorce is both unusual and generally frowned upon is absolutely untrue (Briggs 1959, p. 86).

According to the Tuareg there are many reasons why a man should preferably marry a cross-cousin and ideally a mother's brother's daughter. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg I have collected the following arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage:— (1) All people (that is, all Tuareg) descend from one and the same woman, and her sons and daughters consequently had to marry one another. Their offspring established cross-cousin marriage which has been the rule since then. (2) There are many stories told to confirm the contention that cross-cousin marriages are good, while other marriages are bad. There is, for example, the following legend:— Once upon a time the parents of a young Tuareg arranged for him to marry a cross-cousin. This Tuareg, however, was not in love with his cross-cousin but wanted to marry another woman with whom he had no kinship bonds. The result of all this was that he married both his cross-cousin and the other woman. After this it so happened that a heavy punishment was imposed on him by the Sultan. It could be atoned for in one of the following two ways: He could give all his livestock as a fine, or he could have one of his hands cut off. To make his choice he now asked his two wives whether they thought he should loose his hand or rather give away all his stock. The wife to whom he had no bonds of kinship considered that he should keep his animals and have his hand cut off, while his cross-cousin wife asked him to dispose of flock and herd to save his hand. He thus realized that it is best to marry a cross-cousin. (3) It is considered good to marry a cross-cousin because cross-cousins are always extremely good friends. (4) The institutional joking relationship between cross-cousins is considered an important institution in preventing conflicts between married partners. For though joking between two cross-cousins stops on marriage, the mere fact that there has once been joking between them prevents quarrels and adds to the stable relationship between husband and wife. (5) Cross-cousin marriage has an important economic function as it establishes a constant exchange of persons, goods, and livestock between two families.

The three latter arguments in favour of cross-cousin marriage are also supported by the Ahaggar Tuareg. These arguments are very important and will now be discussed in some detail. There is no doubt at all that cross-cousins of both sexes are extremely good friends. They do not joke just to annoy each other, and when joking they laugh and feel very pleased. Cross-cousins who have not seen each other for a considerable time are always pleased to meet. When doing so after a long separation they may make jocular remarks and gestures, but they will also be very kind to each other. They frequently address each other heartily as "cross-cousin", and male cousins will walk around hand in hand, while a woman will do her outmost to please a visiting male cousin. She will serve him the best possible food, will mend his clothes, and she will play her violin for him. Joking goes with intimate friendship,

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 295. Tuareg women drumming and singing at a feast. The drum is a large mortar provided with a piece of goat-skin. Ahaggar, the *Ajjer-en-tehlé* tribe.

583 The same is perhaps the case with
bride-wealth which does not constitute a proper purchase. The payment of bride-wealth may have an economic aspect, but its main function is most probably not a purely economic one.

583 What then is the function of bride-wealth? I believe that this question can be answered if we consider
586 Tuareg feelings towards bride-wealth in case of divorce. If a man divorces his wife because she has
848 committed adultery, he has the right to the return of his bride-wealth animals, but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that it is improper to claim the return of bride-wealth whatever the cause of the divorce, and the Ayr Tuareg consider it most disgraceful. It would be shameful, utterly improper in fact, if a dissolved marriage has been blessed with children. For children born of a marriage dissolved by the husband taking back his bride-wealth are very much like *anibu*, that is "a child born out of wedlock". Bonds of kinship in respect of illigitimate children are not socially recognized. These children are looked down upon even by their true kinsmen. Illigitimate children therefore have great difficulty in getting married, and this is also true of their mothers. Nobody wants to marry a woman who has children born out of wedlock, while a divorced woman having one or several children can easily get re-married.

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Fig. 296. Tuareg women dancing in front of professional musicians of Agadez. Ayr, the *Igenáiynen* tribe.

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state the converse proposition that it underlies the extreme fission process characteristic of Arab lineage structure the one structural function of the institution promoting the segmentation process. From this point of view feud and fission are not at all dysfunctional factors, but are necessary for the continuity and viability of Bedouin society (Murphy & Kasdan 1959, p. 18). Such theories of marriage with a father's brother's daughter and its functional connection with the political system may contain an important element of truth, though Westermarck was told in Morocco that cousin marriages easily lead to quarrels between the husband's and the wife's families, both of whom want to interfere in the married life of the couple. Furthermore, Westermarck observes that this argument against cousin marriage was used by the Arab poet, Mu'allakāt (Westermarck 1914, p. 54 f.).

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All over the Near and Middle East where marriages with a father's brother's daughter constitute the traditional type of mating, it is a rule that a man should have the right to marry his paternal cousin for a reduced price or only pay the wedding expenses. This custom is richly confirmed in the literature from North Africa and the Arabian Peninsula. It has also been observed among the Kurds by F. Barth, who thinks that bride-wealth is paid should a man not marry a paternal cousin, as compensation to the bride's father because he does not secure that reinforcement of his minimal lineage which would have been acquired had his daughter married his brother's son (cf. F. Barth 1954,

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(1) The wedding is held close to the camp of the bride's family. A flat sandy place is selected for the ceremony. Relatives and guests from other tribes arrive at this place on the first day of the wedding feast. They are greeted by members of the bride's family, and are offered tea and food. Early in the afternoon the ceremonial ride termed *ilugan* is performed (cf. p. 104 f.). After darkness the guests gather at the wedding place to drum and sing, to play the violin, and slaves and certain vassals dance to the accompaniment of women, who sing and clap their hands. The party will continue in this way until about midnight when all music and singing ceases. – The ceremonial camel ride and the musical gatherings here described are not attended by the bride or the groom. At this juncture they are separated from each other in tents hidden from the wedding place and pitched in opposite directions. They sit in particular tents and both have their faces closely veiled. The groom wears several veils wrapped around his head and face allowing only a very narrow slit for the eyes. The bride is still more closely veiled by a piece of cotton around her head.

(2) When the guests have stopped making music shortly before midnight, preparations are made for the first ceremonial meeting of the bride and the groom at the sandy wedding place. Digging with potsherds, wooden and metal containers, and with their hands the women make a little sand-hill about one metre high and just big enough for two people to sit upon it. When this sand-hill, known as *adebel*, is erected, the wedding tent is brought to the ceremonial place with loud cheers, shrills, and drumming. The sheet of skin is to be suspended over the sand-hill, but before this is done a woman lies down upon the ceremonial hill with a pole in each of her hands. The tops of these poles she presses firmly against each other. While the woman lies thus, two men take up position on each side of the hill with the recumbent woman. They now throw the tent skin between them three times over the sand-hill and the woman. When this is done the tent is erected over the sand-hill in a very imperfect way the sheet resting upon the two poles buried in the ground in the front and upon a shorter pole at the back. The lower part of the skin-sheet is kept to the ground by means of sand and stones. A blanket (*ahwar*) is finally placed over the sand-hill, and most people now leave the wedding tent to fetch the groom and the bride.

(3) Shortly after the erection of the wedding tent the groom leaves his camp in the company of a great many young men. They lead the closely-veiled groom towards the wedding tent, and walk slowly, singing certain Koranic passages. Arrived at the ceremonial place the procession with the groom walks three times around the tent, keeping to the right, and the groom is then led into the tent where he sits down upon the sand-hill. The men squat around the tent to await the arrival of the bride. They talk now and then to the groom who does not reply, or does so in a very low voice.

(4) The bride comes to the wedding tent about half an hour or an hour later than the groom. She is led by a procession of young women, and she walks in the middle of the procession which proceeds with extremely small steps, giving the impression that it hardly moves at all. The young women of the procession lead the bride towards the tent with singing, drumming, and loud cheers and shrills. When they have arrived at the tent they walk around it with the bride three times, keeping to the left, and then stop before the entrance. They claim a pair of sandals for one of the bride's cross-cousins (cf. p. 443, 459); when the sandals have been handed over they lead the bride into the tent where she is placed upon the sand-hill behind the groom. The bride and the groom are thereupon left to themselves, while

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the broad side turning westwards. Inside the tent there is nothing beyond the large bed (*tédabut*) covered with mats and blankets.

(2) The wedding guests perform the ceremonial camel-ride (*ilugan*) in the afternoon and continue to sing, make music, and dance throughout the night.

(3) The wedding feast continues the next day with the killing of an ox for the guests. On this day, early in the night (about nine o'clock), the groom comes to the wedding tent. He is closely veiled and walks in the middle of a large procession of men and some women. The procession walks slowly, the women accompanying it shrilling and cheering. If the camp is situated close to Agadez the procession is led by professional musicians who on this occasion are on horseback. When the procession has arrived at the wedding tent the groom enters into it directly and without much formality, but does so through the narrow end turning southwards. Some of his friends squat around him in the tent while a few blacksmiths drum and praise the groom in songs which also refer to the fact that the blacksmiths have arrived in order to transform the wedding into a great feast. When the groom has entered the tent most guests continue to dance and make music until about eleven o'clock, when the bride arrives.

(4) The bride is led towards the wedding tent by a procession of singing women who are not accompanied by musicians mounted on horses even if the camp is close to Agadez. The procession proceeds extremely slowly, and sometimes almost marks time. The women sing the praise of the veiled bride who walks in the middle of the procession behind a tall woman. The bride's hands are around the tall woman's waist, and she is hidden under a large piece of white cotton placed over the tall woman's shoulders and back. When the procession is close to the tent it is joined by many men and by the drumming blacksmiths who lead the procession to the wedding tent. Here the procession walks three times around the tent, stopping in front of the narrow entrance facing southwards. The women now claim the promise of a gift from the groom to his bride (cf. p. 462). When a gift has been promised the tall woman creeps into the tent with the bride clinging to her back. The bride is placed upon the bed together with the groom who is already sitting there, the mat at the southern end is drawn to and closed, and the bride and the groom are left alone. The wedding is now over, and the guests leave for their tents and camps.

(5) The bride and the groom now remain seven days in the tent. They leave it only to release nature and preferably after darkness. When this stay of seven days in the wedding tent is over, the newly-married couple immediately take up residence in the camp of the husband's father.

From the description of Tuareg wedding ceremonies above we see that they develop very slowly. This is particular so in Ahaggar, where the bride and the groom are brought together to be separated again before being finally united in the correctly erected tent. In Ayr the bride and the groom are brought together more directly, but do not meet until the second day of the wedding feast. They then have to enter the tent in an abnormal way – through the narrow southern end. The fact that the ceremony develops slowly and that the tent is not correctly erected are traits typical both of the Ahaggar and the Ayr Tuareg.

It is clear that the groom and the bride during the ceremony live so to speak outside the community. Tuareg wedding ceremonies are characteristic rites of passage and contain traits common to many